25

REMARQUES

Upon the NEW

PROJECT

OF

ASSOCIATION:

SUTRO

In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

YOU would have me give you the ſence of the Town, together with my own Private Thoughts upon the Subject of your Laſt. The *Former* would be *Tedious* and *Extravagant*, in a Caſe where People, either through *Paſſion*, or *Intereſt*, are ſo Extremely divided. And the *Latter* (with Submiſſion) would be as *Unſafe*: But I ſhall, however, Gratifie your Curioſity in as full, and as Particular an Anſwer to the Sum of your Demands, as the Quality of the Matter in queſtion, and the Compaſs of a Letter will conveniently bear.

You are ſo far in the Right; as that the Paper you ſpeak of, is ſaid, by ſome, to be the *project* of a *Bill* for an *Aſſociation*; And grounded upon the *Precedent* of an *Aſſociation 27. Eliz.* It is ſaid further, that it is no more then what was mov'd in the laſt *Weſtminſter Parliament*; and only *a ſhort draught*, or Scheme *of an* Aſſociation, *for a General Defence againſt a Popiſh King*. But one the other hand, it is cry'd out againſt as the *Inſtrument* of a *Treaſonous Conſpiracy* againſt his *Majeſty*, and the *Government*, under the Countenance of a *Religious Aſſociation*.

Thus far, Sir, you are rightly inform'd, as to the Buſineſs of Ordinary *Conjecture*, and *Diſcourſe*; but your Intelligence afterwards runs a little too large: for the paper was

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Thus far, Sir, you are rightly inform'd, as to the Buſineſs of Ordinary C*onjecture*, and *Diſcourſe*; but your Intelligence afterwards runs a little too large: for the paper was barely *found* in my Lords Cloſet; And any man may have Papers perhaps in his poſſeſſion that he does not approve of. How far the Members of that Parliament (which is the next point) will find themſelves concern'd in Honour to ſearch farther into this Affair, I am not able to Divine.

It will be both for your Eaſe and mine, to conſult, and compare the Pieces themſelves, and to ſee how far this *late Draught of* A*ſſociation* agrees with the *Ends*, and *Intent* of the F*ormer*: And after that, to Examine it's C*onſiſtency* with it *ſelfe*: To which purpoſe I ſhall (in their due place) lay *both the* A*ſſociations* before you, with ſuch Notes upon, and concerning them, as may ſerve in ſome meaſure to Explain the Matter in hand: And therein I ſhall ſpeak to the ſeveral Points of your Letter, as they fall in my way. The Words of the *Former* are as follows.

The Paper *which was Seized in the E. of* Shaftsbury's *Closet by* Francis Gwin *Esquire, One of the Clerks of His* Majesties *Privy Council, and Read* November 24. 1681. *at the* Old-Baily, *before His* Majesties *Commissioners of* Oyer *and* Terminer.

1. WE the Knights, &c. Finding to the griefe of our Hearts, the Popish Priests & Jesuits with the Papists, and their *Adherents* and *Abetters* have for several years last past pursued a most pernicious and hellish Plot, to root out the true Protestant Religion as a pestilent Heresie, to take away the Life of our Gracious King, to subvert our Laws and Liberties, &c. to set up Arbitrary Power and Popery.

NOTE, That the Stile of the *First* Clause, in these Words, [*We the* Knights, &c.] Imports an Act of the *Commons*, Exclusive of the *Lords*; and *Rege Inconsulto*: The *Dread* and *Danger* of the *Popish Plot*, is made the *Inducement* to it: The *Papists Adherents* & *Abettors*, ranged with the *Papists themselves*; and joyned in the same Design of Murdering the the King, &c.

2. And it being Notorious that they have been highly encouraged by the Countenance and Protection given and procured for them by J. D. of Y. and by their expectations of his succeeding to the Crown, and that through crafty Popish Councils his Designs have so far prevailed that he hath created many and great Dependents upon him by his bestowing Offices and Preferments both in Church and State.

In the *Second* Clause, his R. H. falls under the same Accusation; and the Government, Effectually, put into his hands, toward the Gaining of his Ends. Now the meaning of *Adherents*, and *Abetters*, is Expounded by the Author of *Smith's Quæries* upon the *Duke's Bill*, where he says that [*the Pleaders for a* Popish Successor, *ought to be Esteem'd no other then* Betrayers *of their* King *and* Country, Renegado's *from their* Religion, *(if ever* Protestants *at all) and the worst of* Papists; *and so to be dealt with all in City and Country.*] Here's an *Anathema* pronounc'd already against all Men under that Qualification; and the *Invalidating of the Kings Witnesses* is One Condition of the Sentence; which does most Expresly conclude all the *Present Defamers* of the Kings *Witnesses* under the same *Condemnation.*

This way of Exposing the Kings Loyal Subjects of the *English* Communion, under the Notion of *Papists*, (or in truth, beyond them,) and that, not only in *Libellous Papers*, but in some Councils also, is too Notorious to need any Instances to confirm it: And what's the drift of these practices, but under a General Scandal, to *Stigmatize* that Party that will not Close with the *Faction*, and to set them up as a Mark to the Fury of of the *Rabble?* And this is only a *Preparatory* toward a greater Work that is to follow; and whosoever is not wilfully Blind, cannot but see the Design to be all

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From this Aversion toward a sort of people (in general) represented under such a Character; the next Step is the *Naming* of *particular persons*, the Discriminating of parties; the Computing of *Numbers*, and *Intrests*, and so from *Listing*, to Pass on into *Associations*, and *Levies*. Let not this be taken for a Trivial Speculation upon the Common Methods, and Preliminaries to *Rebellion*: for I have heard, (and I do as firmly believe it, as a Man can believe any thing that he never saw) that there is Extant a Calculation upon all the Counties of *England* and *Wales*, *Alphabetically* Digested; Dividing the Men of Intereſt, and Consideration, in each Respective County into *Two Columns*, One against another; The *One* under the Title of *Worthy Men*; and the *Other*, of *Men Worthy* (to be Hang'd, that is) Ranging the *Country Party* (as they call it) under the Former, and the *Court-Party* under the Other: Which appears, (as I am assur'd) by the Transporting of Names from One to the Other, as any Man is found to Change his Side and Opinion. By the Benefit of this Roll, 'tis not above a Week, or Ten Days Work to take a *Muster* of the *Nation*; To Communicate Orders; To know whom to *Impeach*, and whom

whom to *Truſt*; And they that have *Money* ſhall never want *Evidence*. There is a Wonderful Correſpondence betwixt the Tendency of *this* Liſt, & the *paper* of *Aſſociation*; betwixt the Dictates of the *Factious pamphlets*, and the matter of *Fact*, in *Evidence*, and it were little leſs then a *Miracle*, if all this ſhould come by chance.

3. It appearing alſo to us, That by his Influence *Mercenary Forces* have been levied and kept on Foot for his ſecret Deſigns *contrary to our Laws*; the Officers thereof having been named and appointed by him, to the apparent hazard of His Majeſties Perſon, our Religion and Government, if the danger had not been timely foreſeen by ſeveral Parliaments, and part of thoſe Forces with great difficulty, cauſed by them to be Disbanded at the Kingdoms great Expence: And it being Evident, that notwithſtanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majeſty from the Councils and out of the power of the ſaid D. yet his Intereſt in the Miniſtry of State and others have been ſo prevalent, That *Parliaments* have been *unreaſonably* Prorogued, and Diſſolved when they have been in the hot purſuit of Popiſh Conſpiracies, and ill Miniſters of State their Aſſiſtants.

In the *Third* and *Fourth* Clauſes, the *Kings Guards* are pronounc'd to be *Contrary to Law*; The *Officers* choſen by the Duke, *Subſervient* to his *Deſigns*, and *Dangerous* to his Majeſties *Perſon*, &c. The *King himſelf* Charg'd with following *Popiſh Councels; Unreaſonable Prorogations*, and *Diſſolutions*, in favour of *Popiſh Conſpirators*, and *Ill Miniſters of State*, their *Aſſiſtants*; The *Garriſons*, *Army*, and *Ammunition* in the hands of the *Dukes Party*, and *their Adherents*.

It is not my Work to amplifie upon theſe *Falſhoods*, and *Slanders*, in this place; ſo that I ſhall proceed.

4. And that the ſaid D. in order to reduce all into his own Power hath procured the Garriſons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the power of the Seas and Souldiery, and Lands belonging to theſe Three Kingdoms to be put into the hands of *his Party* and *their Adherents*, even in oppoſition to the Advice and Order of the laſt Parliament.

5. And as we conſidering with Heavy Hearts how greatly the Strength; Reputation and Treaſure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Waſted and Conſumed, and loſt by the intricate expenſive management of theſe Wicked deſtructive Deſigns; and finding the ſame Councils after exemplary Juſtice upon ſome of the Conſpirators, to be ſtill purſued with the utmoſt deviliſh malice, and deſire of Revenge; Whereby His Majeſty is in continual hazard of being Murdered to make way for the ſaid D's Advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in ſuch caſe is deſtitute of all ſecurity of their Religion, Laws, Eſtates and Liberty, ſad experience in the Caſe, Queen *Mary* having proved the wiſeſt Laws

The *Fifth* Clauſe Deplores the ſad Eſtate of the *King* and *Nation*, by reaſon of the ſame Councel. And after this *Remonſtrance* upon the whole matter, (We the Knights, &c.) come to a point, in that which follows: That is to ſay,

be Disbanded at the Kingdoms great Expence: And it being Evident, that notwithstanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majesty from the Councils and out of the power of the said D. yet his Interest in the Ministry of State and others have been so prevalent, That P*arliaments* have been *unreasonably* Prorogued, and Dissolved when they have been in the hot pursuit of Popish Conspiracies, and ill Ministers of State their Assistants.

Army, and *Ammunition* in the hands of the *Dukes* P*arty*, and *their Adherents*.

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4. And that the said D. in order to reduce all into his own Power hath procured the Garrisons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the power of the Seas and Souldiery, and Lands belonging to these Three Kingdoms to be put into the hands of *his* P*arty* and *their Adherents*, even in opposition to the Advice and Order of the last Parliament.

5. And as we considering with Heavy Hearts how greatly the Strength; Reputation and Treasure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Wasted and Consumed, and lost by the intricate expensive management of these Wicked destructive Designs; and finding the same Councils after exemplary Justice upon some of the Conspirators, to be still pursued with the utmost deviish malice, and desire of Revenge; Whereby His Majesty is in continual hazard of being Murdered to make way for the said D's Advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in such case is destitute of all security of their Religion, Laws, Estates and Liberty, sad experience in the Case, Queen *Mary* having proved the wisest Laws to be of little Force to keep out Popery and Tyranny under a Popish Prince.

The *Fifth* Clause Deplores the sad Estate of the *King* and *Nation*, by reason of the same Councel. And after this *Remonstrance* upon the whole matter, (We the Knights, &c.) come to a point, in that which follows: That is to say,

6. We have therefore endeavoured in a *Parliamentary way* by a Bill for the purpose to Barr and Exclude the said Duke from the Succession to the Crown, and to Banish him for ever out of these Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*. But the first Means of the King and Kingdoms Safety being utterly rejected, and we left almost in Despair of obtaining any real and effectual security, and knowing our selves to be intrusted to Advise and Act for the preservation of his Majesty and the Kingdom, and being persuaded in our Consciences that the Dangers aforesaid are so eminent and pressing, that there ought to be no delay of the best means that are in our power to secure the Kingdom against them. We have thought fit to propose to all true Protestants an Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred promise of *Mutual*

6ly. The *King* will not agree to *Barr* and *Exclude* the *Duke* in a P*arliamentary way*; and therefore we'l enter into a L*eague* and Invite the Kings Subjects to *Joyn* with us in a *Vow* of *Mutual Defence* and *Assistance* (in an *Un*-P*arliamentary way*) to the Intent of a Declaration in the Form Ensuing

Defence and *Assistance* in the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, His Majesties Person and Royal State and our Laws, Liberties and Properties, and we hold it our bounden Duty to joyn our selves for the same intent in a Declaration of our United Affections and Resolutions in the Form insuing.

Now put all together, and the sum of it, in short, is this. There's a *Plot* upon the *Kings Life*, &c. The *Duke* is *in't*; And preferrs *Ministers of State*, *Officers Civil* and *Military*, for his purpose; *Prorogues* and *Dissolves Parliaments*, *Saves the* Popish *Lords*; makes the *King* a *Cypher*; And therefore since he will not agree to *Exclude* and *Banish his Brother* by Act of *Parliament*, [We the Knights, &c.] *will joyn with all* True Protestants *in a* Sacred promise *to destroy* him, *and his* Adherents, *without exception to His Maiesty himself*, who for Refusing to *Exclude* his *Royal Brother*, is declared to be *one of the* Party. To what Ends, and purposes, will be seen in the *Association it self.*

THE ASSOCIATION.

I *A. B.* Do in the presence of God solemnly, Promise, Vow, and protest to maintain and defend to the utmost of my Power, with my Person and estate, the *true Protestant* Religion against Popery and all popish Superstition, Idolatry, or *Innovation*, and all those who do or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this Kingdom.

I will also as far as in me lies maintain and defend His Majesties Royal Person and Estate; as also the power and priviledge of *P*arliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, against all Incroachments and Usurpation of Arbitrary power whatsoever, and endeavour intirely to Disband all such *Mercenary Forces* as, we have reason to believe, were raised to advance it, and are still kept up in and about the City of *London*, to the great Amazement and Terror of all the good people of the Land.

Moreover *I. D.* of *Y.* Having publickly professed and owned the popish Religion, and notoriously given Life and Birth to the Damnable and Hellish plotes of the papists against His Majesties person, the protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom; I will never consent that the said *J.* D. of *Y.* or any other, who is or hath been a papist, or *any ways adher'd* to the papists in their wicked Designs be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of *England*, But by all lawful means and by force of Arms, if need so require, according to my Abilities, will oppose him, and endeavour to *Subdue*, *Expel* and *Destroy* him if he come into *England*, or the Dominions thereof; And seek by force to set up his pretended Title, and all *such as shall Adhere unto him*, or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command, as publique Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Countrey.

To this end we and every one of us whose hands are here under-written, do most willingly bind our selves and every one of us unto the other joyntly and severally, in the Bond of one firm and loyal Society or Association, and do promise and vow before God, That

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Neither will we for any respect of *persons* or *Causes*, or for Fear, or Reward, seperate our selves from this Association, or fail in prosecution thereof during our Lives upon [illegible] of being by the rest of us prosecuted, and suppressed as perjur'd persons, and publick Enemies to God, the King, and our Native Countrey.

To

To which pains and punishments we do voluntarily submit our selves, and every one of us without benefit of any Colour or pretence to excuse us.

In Witness of all which promsies to be Inviolably kept, we do to this present Writing put our Hands and Seals, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this Society and Association.

THis form of *Association* is only the Covenant Reviv'd, with the same Licence, Limitations, Reserves, and Equivocations; And to the very same End and purpose: And all Schismatiques, and Heretiques whatsoever, Taken, and Invited into the Combination, under the Colour of preserving the True protestant Religion, (the papists only excepted.) The Guards to be Disbanded, as Illegal; His *R. H.* to be Expell'd or Depos'd; and all his Adherents (even the King himself) to be destroy'd by Force of Arms, That is to say, The King is to be allow'd no other Ministers, Officers, but what the *Associates* shal vouchsafe to affoord him, and he himself likewise upon his Good Behaviour, under the pain of Immediate Insurrection, Tumult, and Revolt.

Being engaged by this Vow, promise, protestation, (or what else you please) to a downright Rebellion, (unless the King will deliver up his Crown without Striking a Stroke for't) the Oath is carry'd on, even to the Manner, and Method, by which the Nation is to be Govern'd, after such Violence Acted upon the person, and Authority of the King. And this Confederacy is Extended even to the Devolving of the *Soveraign Power* upon the House of Commons, during Sitting the Parliament; and upon the Major part of the Members of both Houses, Subscribing this *Association*, after the *Prorogation* or *Dissolution* thereof: And they never to Recede, upon any Consideration whatsoever. So that here's a King Depos'd, a Monarchy Destroy'd; a *Common-wealth Erected*; a *Free People Enslav'd*; And all in a Trice, by the help of this *Pious Union* if ever it should come to take Effect: And in Conclusion the *Supreme Power* Vested in the Two Houses to *Prepetuity*. This is the Faireſt Construction can be made on't; the paper calls it the present Parliament, in a Complement, 'tis only the House of Commons, in Effect.

Now look back upon the whole, and take notice how Frivolous all those *Colours*, and *pretensions* are, that have been produced in Favour or Excuse of this Paper. [We the Kinights] do Declare, and *Swear*, that what we connot *Compass* in a Parliamentary way, We will endeavour to bring about by force of Arms. Here's the very Constitution of Parliaments overthrown at a Dash: And pursuant to this Resolution, so many Members that were Chosen, and Entrusted to serve their Countrys, and (as much as in them lay) to uphold and maintain the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties of the people, have now propounded to set up themselves by this project, without either King, or House of Lords; as a Standing Committe, and to Exercise an Arbitary power over their Fellow-Subjects, to the Subversion of the Common Rights, and in Defiance of the Fundamental priviledges of King, parliaments, and people. So much for the pretended

Depos'd; and all his Adherents (even the King himself) to be destroy'd by Force of Arms, That is to say, The King is to be allow'd no other Ministers, Officers, but what the *Associates* shal vouchsafe to affoord him, and he himself likewise upon his Good Behaviour, under the pain of Immediate Insurrection, Tumult, and Revolt.

Being engaged by this Vow, promise, protestation, (or what else you please) to a downright Rebellion, (unless the King will deliver up his Crown without Striking a Stroke for't) the Oath is carry'd on, even to the Manner, and Method, by which the Nation is to be Govern'd, after such Violence Acted upon the person, and Authority of the King. And this Confederacy is Extended even to the Devolving of the *Soveraign Power* upon the House of Commons, during Sitting the Parliament; and upon the Major part of the Members of both Houses, Subscribing this *Association*, after the *Prorogation* or *Dissolution* thereof: And they never to Recede, upon any Consideration whatsoever. So that here's a King Depos'd, a Monarchy Destroy'd; a *Common-wealth Erected*; a *Free People Enslav'd*; And all in a Trice, by the help of this *Pious Union* if ever it should come to take Effect: And in Conclusion the *Supreme Power* Vested in the Two Houses to *Prepetuity*. This is the Fairest Construction can be made on't; the paper calls it the present Parliament, in a Complement, 'tis only the House of Commons, in Effect.

Now look back upon the whole, and take notice how Frivolous all those *Colours*, and *pretensions* are, that have been produced in Favour or Excuse of this Paper. [We the Kinights] do Declare, and *Swear*, that what we connot *Compass* in a Parliamentary way, We will endeavour to bring about by force of Arms. Here's the very Constitution of Parliaments overthrown at a Dash: And pursuant to this Resolution, so many Members that were Chosen, and Entrusted to serve their Countrys, and (as much as in them lay) to uphold and maintain the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties of the people, have now propounded to set up themselves by this project, without either King, or House of Lords; as a Standing Committe, and to Exercise an Arbitary power over their Fellow-Subjects, to the Subversion of the Common Rights. and in Defiance of the Fundamental priviledges of King, parliaments, and people. So much for the pretended project of a BILL.

Now to this Scheme of an *Association* for Defence against a popish King. The paper begins with Exclamations against a popish *plot*, and concludes in an *Oath* of *Conspiracy* against a protestant prince. It begins with a pretended Tenderness of Religion, and ends in a *peremptory Sentence* and Determination of State. For fear of a popish King, here's a Certain provision that we shall have no King at all; and under pretext of Opposing an Arbitrary power in the Crown, here's an Expedient offer'd (as for the Avoidance of it) by Swearing Allegiance to the Unlimited will and pleasure of a Committes of Disbanded Members of our own Fellow Subjects.

But this is no more, they say, then was propounded, and Debated in the House of Commons. There was an Address of the Commons, ('tis true) bearing date *May* 10. 1679. [That His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give Order for raising the *Militia* and keeping of it up for some certain time] and the Lords were afterwards reminded of it; To which (as I remember) His Majesties Answer was, That He would not part with it, so much as for an horu; But here was no *Associating* to take possession of it by Force, in case it should be refused.

It is True likwise, that the Commons, *December* 15. 1680. pass'd a Vote that a Bill should be brought in for an *Association* of all his Majestes Protestant Subjects, &c. And that upon the one and twentieth of the same Month, they presented an *Address* to the King, desiring therein, that his Majesty would be Graciously pleased to assent to an Act, whereby his Majesties Protestant Subjects might be Enabled to *Associate* themselves for the Defence of His Person, &c. Which very Word (*Enabled*) Imports a *Concession* and *Acknowledgment* that without the Kings Passing such a Bill, they had no Right to Authorize such a Combination.

But that which has misled people into a mistake, so Derogatory to the Honour of the House of *Commons*, I presume may be this. There were several Questions put by the *Foreman of the Jury*; First to Mr. *Gwin*; and afterwards to Mr. *Secretary Jenkins*, that carryed some sort of Countenance, as if *This Association* had been *Debated*, and *This very Paper*, *Read* in the House of *Commons*. 'Tis a short Passage and I'le recite it, as you will find it in the *Printed proceedings*, Pag. 34.

Foreman. Don't you know, Sir, there was a Discourse in the P*arliament* of an *Association.*

Mr. Gwin. Sir I was not of the last Parliament, I know nothing of it.

Foreman. You have not heard then that there was such a Thing in *Parliament* concerning an *Association*?

Mr Gwin. I have heatd of an *Association* Talk'd of.

Foreman. Mr. Secretary, I would ask you some Questions, If you did not know of a *Debate* in Parliament of an *Association*?

Mr. Secretary. I was not present at the Debate; but there was a Talk in Town of an *Association.*

Foreman. Did you not hear of it in P*arliament*?

Mr. Secretary. Indeed there was an answer to a Message from the House of Commons that had something in it that did strongly Imply an Association; but this particular Association I do not remember to have heard propos'd.

Foreman. Don't you remember in the House of Commons, Sir, it was read, upon Occasion of that Bill?

Mr. Secretary. I heard such a thing spoken of; but at the Reading of it I was not present, to the best of my rememberance.

I know nothing to the contrary, but that the forme of this Vow and protestation, (meaning the three first Clauses of it) might possibly be read in the House; But to imagine, that the Honorable House of Commons would ever have endur'd the starting of a project to overturn the very Foundations of Government, were to do them the greatest indignity in the world. The late Usurpers themselves were halfe way through the Rebellion, before they arriv'd at that degree of Boldnesse. If any man should Interpret these *Glancing Interrogatories* in such manner as to take this project for an Act of the House; The *Jesu-*

very Paper, *Read* in the Houſe of *Commons*. 'Tis a ſhort Paſſage and I'll recite it, as you will find it in the *Printed proceedings*, Pag. 34.

Foreman. Don't you know, Sir, there was a Diſcourſe in the *Parliament* of an *Aſſociation.*

Mr. Gwin. Sir I was not of the laſt Parliament, I know nothing of it.

Foreman. You have not heard then that there was ſuch a Thing in *Parliament* concerning an *Aſſociation*?

Mr Gwin. I have heard of an *Aſſociation* Talk'd of.

Foreman. Mr. Secretary, I would ask you ſome Queſtions, If you did not know of a *Debate* in Parliament of an *Aſſociation?*

Mr. Secretary. I was not preſent at the Debate; but there was a Talk in Town of an *Aſſociation.*

Foreman. Did you not hear of it in *Parliament?*

Mr. Secretary. Indeed there was an anſwer to a Meſſage from the Houſe of Commons that had ſomething in it that did ſtrongly Imply an Aſſociation; but this particular Aſſociation I do not remember to have heard propos'd.

Foreman. Don't you remember in the Houſe of Commons, Sir, it was read, upon Occaſion of that Bill?

Mr. Secretary. I heard ſuch a thing ſpoken of; but at the Reading of it I was not preſent, to the beſt of my rememberance.

I know nothing to the contrary, but that the forme of this Vow and proteſtation, (meaning the three firſt Clauſes of it) might poſsibly be read in the Houſe; But to imagine, that the Honorable Houſe of Commons would ever have endur'd the ſtarting of a project to overturn the very Foundations of Government, were to do them the greateſt indignity in the world. The late Uſurpers themſelves were halfe way through the Rebellion, before they arriv'd at that degree of Boldneſſe. If any man ſhould Interpret theſe *Glancing Interrogatories* in ſuch manner as to take this project for an Act of the Houſe; The *Jeſuits* themſelves could not have done the Popiſh plot a greater piece of ſervice, then the promoting of ſuch an Errour as might creat a Jelouſie of Treaſon within theſe Walls: But on the other hand there may be Scandals Taken as well as Given.

If it were not for Tiring of yow out, I could ſhew ye the Originals, both of this Draught and Deſign, and Trace the very footſteps of our *Reforming Hero's*, from His Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects with their Outcrys of *plots* and *popery*, and Eyes and Hands lifted up unto the Lord in a Holy Covenant; to the ſevering of his Majeſties Sacred Head from his Body, upon a ſcaffold; But it is too Copious a Theme, and there needs no more then Dipping any where in the Records of the Late Times to famiſh the parallel.

There remains yet another Abuſe to be clear'd, wherein they impoſe upon the people, that this Aſſociation is founded upon the ſame Grounds and Conſiderations with that of the 27th. of the *Queen*. You will better judge whether it be ſo or no, upon a view of the *Inſtrument* it ſelfe, and ſome few Remarques thereupon.

The

The Inſtrument, *or* Writing *of* Aſſociation, *that the* Proteſtants *of* England *enter'd into*, 27. Eliz.

FOraſmuch as Almighty God hath Ordained Kings, Queens, and Princes, to have Dominion and Rule over all their Subjects, and to preſerve them in the Poſſeſſion and Obſervation of the true Chriſtian Religion, according to his holy Word and Commandment: And in like ſort, that all Subjects ſhould Love, Fear, and Obey their Soveraign Princes, being Kings or Queens, to the utmoſt of their power; at all times to withſtand, purſue, and ſuppreſs all manner of perſons that ſhall by any means intend and attempt any thing dangerous or hurtful to the Honour, States, or perſons of their Soveraigns.

Therefore we whoſe Names are or ſhall be ſubſcribed to this Writing, *being Natural Born ſubjects of this Realm of England*, and having ſo Gracious a Lady, our Soveraign *Elizabeth*, by the Ordinance of God, our moſt rightful Queen, Reigning over us theſe many Years with great Felicity, to our ineſtimable Comfort: And finding lately by divers Depoſitions, Confeſſions, and ſundry Advertiſements out of Forreign parts from credible perſons, well known to her Majeſties Council and to divers others; That for the furtherance and advancement of ſome pretended Title to the Crown, it hath been manifeſted that the Life of our Gracious Soveraign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, hath been moſt dangerouſly expos'd to the peril of her Perſon; if Almighty God her perpetual Defender, of his Mercy had not revealed and withſtood the ſame. By whoſe Life, we and all other her Majeſties True and Loyal Subjects, do enjoy an ineſtimable benefit of peace in this Land; do for the Reaſons and Cauſes before alledged, not only acknowledge our ſelves moſt juſtly bound with our Lives and Goods for her defence, in her ſafety, to perſecute, ſuppreſs, and withſtand all ſuch Intenders and all other her Enemies, of what Nation, Condition, and Degree whatſoever they ſhall be, or by what Council or Title they ſhall pretend to be her Enemies, or to attempt any harm upon her Perſon; but do further think it our bounden Duties for the great benefit of peace, and Wealth, and Godly Government, we have more plentifully receaved theſe many Years, under her Majeſties Government, than any of our Forefathers have done in any longer time of any other Progenitors, Kings of this Realm.

Do declare, and by this Writing make manifeſt, our bounden Duties to our ſaid Soveraign Lady for her ſafety. And to that end, *We and every of us, Firſt calling to Witneſs the Name of Almighty* God, *do Voluntarily and moſt Willingly bind our ſelves, every one of us to the other, joyntly and ſeverally in the Band of one Firm and Loyal Society. And do hereby Vow and promiſe by the* Majeſty of Almighty God, *That with our whole Powers, Bodies, Lives, and Goods, and with our Children and Servants, We, and every of us, will faithfully ſerve and humbly obey our ſaid Soveraign Lady Queen* Elizabeth, *againſt all States, Dignities, and Earthly powers whatſoever: and will as*

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And if any ſuch wicked Attempt againſt her moſt Royal Perſon, ſhall be taken in hand and procured, whereby any that have, may, or ſhall pretend Title to come to this Crown, by the untimely death of her Majeſty ſo wickedly procured (which God for his Mercy ſake forbid) may be avenged; *We do not only bind our ſelves both joyntly and ſeverally never to Allow, accept, or favour any ſuch pretended Succeſſor, by whom, or for whom any ſuch deteſtable Act ſhall be Attempted or Committed. as unworthy of all Government in any Chriſtian Realm or Civil State.*

But

But do alſo further Vow and Proteſt as we are moſt bound, and that in the preſence of the Eternal and Everlaſting God, to proſecute ſuch perſon and perſons to Death with our joynt or particular Forces, and to ask the utmoſt Revenge upon them that by any means we or any of us can deviſe and do, or cauſe to be deviſed and done for their fitter Overthrow and Extirpation.

And to the berter *Corroboration* of this our *Loyal Band and Aſſociation*, We do alſo Teſtifie by this Writting, that we do confirm the contents hereof by our Oaths corporally taken upon the Holy Evangeliſt, with this expreſs condition; that no one of us ſhall for any reſpect of perſons or cauſes, or for Fear or Reward, ſeparate our ſelves from this ASSOCIATION, or fail in the proſecution thereof, during our Lives, upon haſard of being by the reſt of us proſecuted, *and ſuppreſt as perjur'd perſons, and publick Enemies to God, our Queen, and to our Native Country.* To which puniſhment and pains we do voluntarily ſubmit our ſelves, and every of us, wirhout benefit of any colour and pretence.

In Witneſs of all which Promiſes to be inviolably kept, we do to this Writing put our Hands and Seals; and ſhall be moſt ready to accept and admit any others hereafter, to this Society and Aſſociation.

You may be pleaſed to Compare this Aſſociation with the other, which pretends (Effectually) to write after this Coppy. You have in this, an Ample and Solemn Acknowledgement of Soveraign Power in the Queen, and Indiſpenſible Obedience in the Subject: but in the other not only a Diſclaimer of the Kings Authority, and the Subjects Duty, (unleſs his Majeſty will Comply with whatſoever his People ſhall Impoſe upon him) but a Total Abdication of his Imperial Power; And a Vow of Conſpiracy to Oppoſe him by Force; and ſet up an Inconſiderable part of the people, Maſters of the Government.

You have here ane Aſſociation to defend the Queen againſt any pretendent whatſoever upon a falſe Title. The other is a Conſpiracy for the Deſtruction, even of the preſent King, brcauſe he will not Conſent to the Diſpoſſeſſing his Brother of a Juſt and Legal Title, both before God and Man. This Engagment Extends only to a Remote Proſpect of Injury to the Crown, with a Reſolution to Employ Violence when the Occaſion requires it, and not before: But the other is a Confederacy to offer Violence to the Crown themſelves, and to Embroile the Nation forthwith in a Civil War, upon a pretended Fear of Danger at a Diſtance. This is a Combination againſt the Queens Enemies, with Her Royal Approbation, and conſent. The other is a Confederacy againſt the Kings Brother, and his Friend, and againſt his Majeſties Approbation and Conſent. The one (in ſhort) is for a Submiſſion to a Lawful Authority; The other for the Final and Irreparable Extirpation of it. To Conclude; whoever layes both Ends together of this Late Aſſociation, will find that it begins in the Name of God, for the Preſervation of Religion, and Ends in the Divils Name with the Total Extinction of King and Government.

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Imprimatur

WILLIAM PATERSON.

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Cum Privilegio.